

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00
MCE-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00
NEA-11 EA-10 COME-00 /092 W
-----083359 061214Z /53

O R 061108Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2684
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 17874

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MARR, PCAT, US, FR
SUBJ: US-FRENCH ARMAMENTS COOPERATION: THIRD COUNTRY
SALES POLICY, WEAPONS PACKAGES, ALPHA JET

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN JUNE 5 MEETING FRENCH MOD OFFI-
CIALS STRESSED NEED FOR EARLY US DECISION ON THIRD
COUNTRY SALES POLICY IF FRANCE IS TO MAKE ANY USE OF
US EQUIPMENT UNDER LICENSE AND THUS AVOID DESTANDARDI-
ZATION AND WASTE OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDS. THEY AGREED
THAT SALES ALLOWED COULD BE MORE LIMITED ON HIGH
TECHNOLOGY SYSTEMS LIKE MODFLIR THAN ON LOWER TECH-
NOLOGY ITEMS LIKE M-735 TANK AMMUNITION. HOWEVER, THEY
ARGUED THAT ARMS SALES LIMITATIONS HAD TO BE CONSIST-
ENT TO WORK, AND THAT THE US COULD NOT INTRODUCE A NEW
LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGY INTO A REGION AND AT THE SAME TIME
BAN REASONABLE SALES BY ITS ALLIES IN THE SAME REGION.
IF THE US FOLLOWED THE LATTER COURSE, FRANCE WOULD
HAVE TO DEVELOP ITS OWN EQUIPMENT IN ORDER TO HAVE
FREEDOM TO MAKE APPROPRIATE SALES. THERE SHOULD BE SOME
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MECHANISM FOR CONSULTATION TO DETERMINE REASONABLE
SALES. A POSSIBLE TEXT FOR THE M-735 LICENSE AGREEMENT
WAS DRAFTED FOR CONSIDERATION BY BOTH GOVERNMENTS.
FRENCH REPS WERE SURPRISED THAT ANNOUNCEMENT ON
4-POWER AGREEMENT ON PACKAGES OF WEAPONS WAS NOT MADE
AT SUMMIT, BUT SAID THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO MAKE SUCH
AN ANNOUNCEMENT IN CONNECTION WITH CNAD. IT WAS APPARENT

THAT THERE WAS CONFUSION, IF NOT DISAGREEMENT, WITHIN FRENCH GOVERNMENT ON THIS ISSUE. FRENCH ALSO EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF A FAIR EVALUATION OF ALPHA JET FOR NEXT US TRAINING AIRCRAFT IF THERE WAS TO BE ANY CHANCE OF IMPORTANT COOPERATION IN THE FUTURE. IT WAS AGREED TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON NEW SYSTEMS UNDER CONSIDERATION OR SUITABLE FOR CONSIDERATION FOR PROCUREMENT BETWEEN US AND FRANCE IN BOTH DIRECTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. ON 5 JUNE, M/GENERAL BOWMAN (DIRECTOR EUROPEAN AND NATO AFFAIRS, ISA) MET WITH HIBON (DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, DELEGATION GENERAL FOR ARMAMENTS) AND MONNIER (ASSISTANT TO HIBON) TO DISCUSS THIRD COUNTRY SALES POLICIES NECESSARY FOR EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MOU ON COOPERATION IN ARMAMENTS PROCUREMENT SIGNED BY MOD BOURGES AND SECDEF BROWN ON 22 MAY (THE EXISTENCE OF THIS MOU SHOULD NOT BE REVEALED OUTSIDE US AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS UNTIL AN AGREEMENT IS REACHED WITH THE FRENCH ON METHOD AND TIMING FOR INFORMING ALLIES AND PERHAPS THE PUBLIC).

3. HIBON EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR RAPID US DECISION ON THIRD COUNTRY SALES POLICIES SINCE FRANCE MUST MAKE ITS OWN DECISION ON WHETHER TO GO AHEAD WITH DEVELOPMENT OF MODFLIR AND LONG ROD PENETRATOR TANK AMMUNITION. CONFIDENTIAL

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TION. HE ARGUED THAT THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM ALLOWED FRANCE FOR THIRD COUNTRY SALES OF US SYSTEMS PRODUCED BY FRANCE UNDER LICENSE MUST BE CONSISTENT WITH THE LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGY. MODFLIR BEING HIGH TECHNOLOGY COULD REASONABLY BE LIMITED MORE TIGHTLY IN SALES FOR A NUMBER OF YEARS; WHEREAS M-735 LONG ROD PENETRATOR AMMUNITION BEING RATHER SIMPLE TECHNOLOGY WOULD HAVE TO BE AVAILABLE FOR WIDER SALES. FRANCE COULD EASILY DEVELOP AMMUNITION LIKE M-735, BUT WOULD JUST AS SOON USE THE DEVELOPMENT MONEY FOR SOMETHING ELSE AND MAINTAIN STANDARDIZATION IN NATO. HIBON UNDERSTANDS THAT THE UK IS PROCEEDING WITH ITS OWN VERSION OF M-735 IN ORDER TO PROVIDE FREEDOM OF SALES.

3. HIBON ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PROPOSALS TO LIMIT HIGH TECHNOLOGY SALES TO PDM-13 EXEMPT COUNTRIES WOULD PROBABLY BE ACCEPTABLE AS LONG AS SOME PROVISION WAS MADE FOR CONSISTENT RESTRAINT IN ARMS SALES BY BOTH THE US AND FRANCE. BUT HE ARGUED THAT US NEW TECHNOLOGY ALMOST ALWAYS GOES TO ISRAEL AND THAT THEREFORE FRANCE CANNOT ACCEPT A BAN ON ALL OTHER COUNTRIES IN THAT AREA. IF ISRAEL GOT THE MODFLIR AND M-735

AMMUNITION FROM THE US, OBVIOUSLY FRANCE WOULD NOT BE

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MCE-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00
NEA-11 EA-10 COME-00 /092 W

-----083341 061213Z /53

O R 061108Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2685
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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ABLE TO SELL ITS TANKS AND VEHICLES TO SAUDI ARABIA
WITHOUT THOSE CAPABILITIES. THERE MUST BE SOME
MECHANISM FOR TREATING THESE QUESTIONS ON A FAIR BASIS.

4. WITH RESPECT TO BROAD ARMS SALES LIMITATIONS THAT
MIGHT PRESENT INTRODUCTION OF NEW TECHNOLOGY INTO A
MAJOR GEOGRAPHIC REGION LIKE THE MIDDLE EAST OR SOUTH
AMERICA, HIBON SAID THAT FRANCE UNDERSTOOD THAT SORT
OF POLICY GOAL AND COULD PARTICIPATE IN SUCH LIMITA-
TIONS AS LONG AS THE US WAS CONSISTENT. BUT THERE
COULD NOT BE RELEASE TO ONE COUNTRY LIKE ISRAEL AND
NO RELEASE TO ANOTHER COUNTRY LIKE SAUDI ARABIA WHICH
WAS CLEARLY POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE--WITNESS THE US
F-15 SALE. WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS AN ARRANGEMENT UNDER
WHICH IN LICENSE AGREEMENTS, EITHER WAY ACROSS THE
ATLANTIC, THE US AND FRANCE WOULD CONSULT AT AN APPRO-
PRIATE TIME AND DETERMINE A PROPER POSITION FOR SALES
OF A PARTICULAR SYSTEM.

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5. IN THE CASE OF THE M-735 TANK AMMUNITION, GIVEN THE RATHER LOW LEVEL OF TECHNOLOGY AND THE FACT THAT BOTH THE UK AND ISRAEL ARE PROBABLY DEVELOPING THEIR OWN VERSIONS, FRANCE AT A MINIMUM WOULD NEED PERMISSION TO SELL TO PDM-13 EXEMPT COUNTRIES, PLUS RELATED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES LIKE SPAIN, PLUS SAUDI ARABIA AND MOROCCO. FRANCE ALSO GIVES HIGH PRIORITY TO THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES AND TUNISIA, BUT MIGHT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT A LICENSE AGREEMENT WITHOUT THESE LAST TWO COUNTRIES.

6. IN ORDER TO COMBINE THE IDEA OF AN INITIAL LIST FOLLOWED BY MUTUAL REVIEW, THE FOLLOWING POSSIBLE TEXT WAS DRAFTED AS A STRAWMAN WITHOUT ANY DEGREE OF COMMITMENT BY ANY OF THOSE PRESENT. IT WAS AGREED THAT THIS STRAWMAN WOULD BE CIRCULATED FOR COMMENTS IN BOTH FRENCH AND US GOVERNMENTS.

BEGIN TEXT:

"THE US GOVERNMENT AGREES THAT THE EUROPEAN CONSORTIUM MEMBERS MAY SELL OR OTHERWISE DELIVER M-735 ROUNDS TO OTHER NATO NATIONS, SPAIN, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, AUSTRIA, AUSTRALIA, JAPAN, NEW ZEALAND, AND SOUTH KOREA, SAUDI ARABIA, AND MOROCCO WITHOUT PRIOR PERMISSION OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. THE US AGREES TO MEET WITH FRANCE DURING 1982 TO DETERMINE WHAT OTHER COUNTRIES SHOULD BE ADDED TO THE LIST FOR SALE OF M-735. THIS DECISION WOULD DEPEND UPON THE EVOLUTION OF THE THREAT IN THE AREAS IN QUESTION, INCLUDING STRENGTH OF ARMORED FORCES AND OTHER AMMUNITION SIMILAR IN PERFORMANCE TO M-735 AND THE DEFENSIVE RATHER THAN OFFENSIVE ORIENTATION OF THE COUNTRIES CONCERNED. SALES TO OTHER NATIONS WILL BE APPROVED

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ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS BUT THE US GOVERNMENT AGREES THAT IT WOULD NOT DENY ANY SUCH SALES OR TRANSFER REQUEST UNLESS IT WAS UNWILLING TO PERMIT SUCH SALES OR TRANSFER FROM THE US. NEITHER THE US NOR FRANCE WILL SELL AMMUNITION TO OTHER COUNTRIES OR OTHER REGIONS WITHOUT FIRST CONSULTING ON A REGIONAL POLICY WHICH WOULD GOVERN SALES BY BOTH THE US AND FRANCE."

END TEXT.

7. ON OTHER ARMAMENTS COOPERATION MATTERS, HIBON SEEMED SURPRISED THAT THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO NATO

HAD ASKED SECDEF NOT TO MAKE AN ANNOUNCEMENT AT THE

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00 ICAE-00
MCE-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00
NEA-11 COME-00 /082 W

-----090458 070253Z /61/53

O R 061108Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2686
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (OMISSION OF TEXT)

SUMMIT MEETIN ON THE FRENCH, FRG, US, UK AGREEMENT
TO PURSUE PACKAGES OF WEAPONS, AND HE SEEMED SOMEWHAT
DISMAYED TO LEARN THAT THE FRENCH SUMMIT SPEECH ON ARMS
COOPERATION WAS VERY NEGATIVE. HE WAS ALSO SURPRISED
TO LEARN OF THE RECENT BOURGES' LETTER SUGGESTING THAT
THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE WORK ON PACKAGES OF WEAPONS
SHOULD FOLLOW A 4-POWER ARMAMENTS DIRECTORS MEETINGS.
HIBON SAID THAT THE LATTER COURSE WOULD OFFEND THE
OTHER ALLIES AND THAT 4-POWER MEETINGS WERE NOT TO BE
PUBLICIZED. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE CNAD BE INFORMED,
FIRST, AND THAT ANY ANNOUNCEMENT MIGHT THUS FOLLOW
THE CNAD MEETING.

8. FINALLY, HIBON URGED CAREFUL CONSIDERATION BY THE
US OF THE ALPHA JET FOR ANY NEW TRAINING AIRCRAFT.
HE SAID THAT THIS WAS A CASE WHERE A GOOD EUROPEAN
SYSTEM WAS ALREADY DEVELOPED, AND IF THE US CHOSE TO
DEVELOP STILL ANOTHER TRAINER RATHER THAN BUYING
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THE EUROPEAN TRAINER ALREADY AVAILABLE, IT WOULD PROVE THAT THERE WAS REALLY NO CHANCE FOR GREATER ARMAMENTS COOPERATION BETWEEN THE US AND EUROPE. BOWMAN POINTED OUT THAT THE PACKAGE OF WEAPONS APPROACH WOULD BE MORE LIKELY TO SUCCEED BECAUSE NATIONAL MILITARY SERVICES WOULD BE PARTICIPATING DIRECTLY WITH A MAJOR INTEREST IN THE SUCCESS OF THE PROGRAM IN LUDING FAIR EVALUATION OF ALLIED SYSTEMS. HIBON REPLIED THAT AT LEAST THE NAVY SHOULD INSIST ON A FAIR EVALUATION OF ALPHA JET, SINCE FRANCE WAS ALSO CONSIDERING MANY NEW PROCUREMENTS OF US NAVY EQUIPMENT. BOWMAN REMINDED HIBON THAT IN DISCUSSIONS ON THE MOU ON ARMAMENTS COOPERATION, BOTH THE US AND FRANCE HAD AGREED TO PROVIDE LISTS OF NEW SYSTEMS THEY WERE CONSIDERING PURCHASING FROM THE OTHER, PLUS LISTS THAT THE OTHER MIGHT EVALUATE. HIBON AGREED THAT WE SHOULD NOW PROCEED TO PROVIDE THAT SORT OF INFORMATION TO EACH OTHER. HARTMAN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ARMS, MILITARY SALES, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 06 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978PARIS17874
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780235-1194
Format: TEL
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780691/aaaadarq.tel
Line Count: 300
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 75086e91-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2476427
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: US-FRENCH ARMAMENTS COOPERATION: THIRD COUNTRY SALES POLICY, WEAPONS PACKAGES, ALPHA JET
TAGS: MARR, PCAT, US, FR
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/75086e91-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014